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An A C C O U N T

O F

SOME PARTICULARS

RELATIVE TO

The Meeting held at Y O R K,

ON THURSDAY the 30th of DECEMBER,

1779.

Smelt, 10
1779

AN ACCOUNT

O F

SOME PARTICULARS

RELATIVE TO

The Meeting held at YORK,

ON THURSDAY the 30th of DECEMBER,

1779.

By LEONARD SMELT, Esq.

—Steel then, ye Powers of Heaven,
Steel my firm Soul with your own fortitude,
Free from alloy of passion. Give me courage,
That knows not rage; revenge, that knows not Malice.

MASON'S CARACTACUS.

L O N D O N,

Printed for T. BECKET, Adelphi, Strand,

M,DCC,LXXX.

AC911. 1790.563

P R E F A C E.

MR. SMELT begs leave to lay before the Publick, his real sentiments upon a subject to which their attention has been so often called forth.

In the repeated publications of the Speech attributed to him at York, neither the mode of expressing his sentiments, the order in
which

which they were delivered, nor the intended application of them to their object, has been accurately observed. Much has likewise been added, and much left out. Mr. Smelt would have been very happy if he had found reason to impute this, to the common fallibility of memory and the inaccuracy of notes only; but their general and uniform tendency towards the establishment of conclusions the most unjust, obliges him to withhold such a proof of undistinguishing candour.

Mr. Smelt has the least reason of any one to ascribe a greater degree of exactness to his own memory with regard to words than to that
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of any other person ; but with regard to the sentiments themselves, he can not be so subject to mistake, as they are such as have long held a fixed place in his mind, and afford an irresistible evidence to himself of the manner in which he must have applied them. He therefore immediately after the Meeting drew up the following general view of the questions agitated there, whilst the impressions were fresh in his mind ; assured that it was the best and fairest way of stating such part of the argument as the time at which he spoke and the nature of the interruption he met with had enabled him to offer. He therefore trusts that those to whom he

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viii P R E F A C E.

he has the honour of being known will find that what he now lays before them, is consistent with his uniform turn of reasoning upon these subjects; and that those who heard him at York, will find likewise the substance and full meaning of what he endeavoured to express at that Meeting.

An

An Account of some Particulars,
relative to the Meeting held at
York, on Thursday, the 30th
of December, 1779.

THE meeting was opened with a speech from a very respectable clergyman, who entered into the merits of a petition intended for the House of Commons, which he desired leave to read, and to recommend to the consideration of that meeting.

The petition having been accordingly read, two independent gentlemen, of distinguished property and character, made their objections to it. The first, upon the charge contained in it of very gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money; saying, that it was the custom, and usage of Parliament to require proofs of the allegations, and asking if any one there knew of such proofs, declaring that for his own part, he did not.

The second gentleman, objected on account of the general tendency of the petition to increase the jealousies of the people, at a time when every support to government, and the most unanimous efforts were necessary, for the preservation of the empire; a subject, which he treated in a manner so elegant, so pathetic, and so dignified, as to secure to him the respect of all well-wishers to this country.

A third gentleman spoke for a considerable time in defence of the petition, in a manner, so as to occasion very frequent plaudits from his hearers. There ensued a silence of some length, and the day being considerably advanced, a freeholder got up and spoke to the following purport :

Mr. Chairman,

I have waited in hopes that some person more equal to the subject would have asked the attention of this meeting; but no one appearing inclined to rise, I take the liberty of acquainting you, that I received a letter in London from the York tavern, said to be written by a committee met there for the purpose of requesting a general meeting of the county, and subscribed by persons so very respectable, that I was well assured the object of
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it could not but be important. In times of great national difficulties, all extraordinary and public steps taken by the private citizens of the empire, ought to awaken the attention of every well-wisher to his country; if they are such as may add strength to the national exertions, they call for his countenance; if, on the contrary there appears a probability, however well intended they may be, of their having a contrary effect, they ought in such a moment to be vigorously opposed.

I had flattered myself, from the very respectable names which accompanied the request for this meeting, that the object of it would have been such an address as might prove the firmness of this county in support of the honour of the crown, the dignity of the empire, and the security of every thing that is valuable to us, against the insidious attacks of the despotic house of Bourbon; But I am much concerned to find, that the object of this meeting seems very different from what I had hoped it would have been; for the petition, which has been read, tends, in my eyes, rather to keep up and confirm those jealousies, which have already but too much weakened, and distracted this empire; The first object of it, being a charge against Administration for

gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money ; The second, a petition to the House of Commons to take upon them virtually the entire control of the Civil List, and thus by becoming the guardians and sole judges of the benevolence of the crown, to reduce it to a state of wardship ; which is in effect calling upon one branch of the constitution to invade, what has always been considered as appropriated to the other.

It seems to me, that the air of this room, like the man in the old fable, blows hot and cold : a former meeting I attended here, having been upon the subject of a petition and remonstrance to the King to dissolve the Parliament, because the House of Commons, in a matter which related solely to their own privileges and internal jurisdiction, had expelled one of their own members ; and thus to urge the Crown (in very extraordinary terms) to invade the most sacred part of the independency of the House of Commons ; its sole control of its internal œconomy. Upon this occasion, the House of Commons are petitioned to examine into, rescind, and dispose of, what has always been held subject to the disposal of the Crown ; and which was never, I believe, enquired into with a view of control, but when a request for an
increase

increase of the civil list, or for the discharge of debts contracted, gave a proper plea for enquiring how the deficiency had arisen.

The petition goes further, by asserting that
 “ the Crown had acquired a great and an
 “ unconstitutional influence, which if not
 “ checked, may *soon* prove fatal to the liberties
 “ of this country ; ” Which must necessarily
 increase that jealousy, and encourage that inde-
 cency with which so many modern speeches and
 publications are replete.

The petition proceeds to request, that
 “ *before any new burthens are laid upon this country,*
 “ *effectual measures may be taken* to enquire into,
 “ and correct the gross abuses in the expendi-
 “ ture of the public money ; to reduce all
 “ exorbitant emoluments ; to rescind and
 “ abolish all sinecure places, and unmerited
 “ pensions, &c.” so that by the mode prescribed
 for these reformatations, the means of supporting
 the war must be immediately stopped, till such
effectual measures are taken.

As I must beg leave, therefore, as a free-
 holder of this county, to declare my dissent
 to this petition ; and as I stand in a very deli-
 cate predicament ; a part of it expressly men-
 tioning *unmerited pensions* ; I beg leave to refer
 this meeting to facts in my general conduct,
 which

which best explain my real sentiments upon this subject.* But as his Majesty's most gracious benevolence had extended to me, what my services, in my own estimation could give me no pretensions to; I immediately resolved, upon the first information of the nature of this petition, humbly to decline the future continuance of it, and therefore beg leave to assure this meeting, that from this moment it ceases, and cannot again exist: I hope I may therefore consider myself, as what I really am, an independent man in every sense, which can possibly relate to the object of this petition; and as such, I beg leave to be indulged with the patience and candour of this assembly, having never before spoken in public.

The first object of this petition, is a charge against administration, for gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money. I do not come here to plead the cause of the ministry: I never was connected with them, either officially or accidentally. They are responsible to his Majesty, to the Parliament, and to the nation in general for their conduct; and if any
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* Here this freeholder gave such particulars of his conduct in his publick line, as afforded the proofs he alluded to.

of it has been of a criminal nature, I have no interest to prevent me from concurring in their condemnation; but I have knowledge enough of public affairs, to know that there are many things imputed to them, both in this assembly and elsewhere, as crimes, which are so consequent of the general situation of our affairs as to have rendered it difficult for the ablest and most disinterested statesmen, to keep entirely clear of them.

Upon this ground, therefore, I must beg leave to observe to the meeting, that the great misfortunes and difficulties of this country have originated from a degree of selfishness in almost every individual, which in succession of time even extended itself to bodies in their aggregate character. When the liberty of this country became perfected, first by the Revolution, and next by the Accession of the present family upon the throne; the increase of trade, wealth, numbers and extent of dominion, produced such a general idea of security, as to obliterate, along with the apprehensions for the safety of the empire, all zeal for its permanency. The *amor patriæ*, became a kind of obsolete term, and the degree of attention to self, became so general and so contracted, as to make every
man

man the center, and almost the circumference, of every thing that was dear to him. That noble and true selfishness, which derived its highest gratification from the visible happiness of its most enlarged connections, became now the object of ridicule; and the love of our country, was an argument, or principle of action, which no man would venture to plead, as even our children were taught to think that it was mere hypocrisy. Thus the immediate, temporary and most contracted ideas of interest governed almost every individual, and every aggregate body; and even those Whigs who had in the exertion of their original principles established the liberties of this country at the risk of every thing that was dear to them, now became infected with the general disease, and thought that no government could be perfect, in which they did not preside, and at length seemed to avow the necessity of their being a fourth part of the constitution, if not more properly a third, by reducing to a mere form, one of its constituent parts. The same contracted view of things spread its infection over the individuals of this party, as of every other of the kingdom; and the political system as a minister, of a very amiable man in private life, was, that every man had his price. The
conduct

conduct became soon as contracted as the principle, and the minister for the time solely employed himself in putting aside the difficulties of the day, or perhaps making the most of them for the advantage of himself and family. Thus all the gradual changes which time necessarily produces in the distant, and even the more central parts of a great empire, were totally unnoticed or neglected. That slow approaching fame which can only reward in present by the consciousness that it will be deserved in future, was too distant to become a principle of action under such a character of a nation ; and consequently, the plans for promoting of future good, or for preventing future evils, carrying no immediate reward with them, would scarce have occurred, or, if they occurred, would have been rejected.

Hence the evils in America, hence the difficulties in Ireland, and hence that improvidence in every minister to prepare in time of peace for a sufficient defence in war ; by which means the expence of every war became enormous ; as every thing must be done when there was not sufficient time to do it well, and when the expences of every article must be exorbitantly increased, and its real value and durability much less, from the hasty and

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undistinguishing manner in which it must be supplied.

The flattery which every minister indulged himself in towards the country gentlemen of reducing the taxes upon a peace, obliged all departments at once to lessen their expence, so that if the peace which preceded the Year 1756 had continued much longer, two thirds of our navy must have been annihilated; as the saving in that department was such as not to allow the ships in ordinary to be repaired in their regular and proper course. It therefore appears to me, that no man can be a great minister in this country who does not continue upon a peace, the full taxes of a war till every thing is put into such order and condition as to enable this country to resist a future attack, without that enormous increase to the national debt which has always followed the contrary conduct.*

No

* At this period arose an interruption of so coarse a kind as to make it impossible for the freeholder to proceed for some time. It was however benevolently counteracted by a plaudit, and the chairman in the firmest manner rebuked the indecency of it.—A silence ensued—The sensation of the freeholder may be easier imagined than described—Called thither by a committee composed of persons

No minister of what denomination soever, thus looked forward to future, and distant events. Even Lord Chatham, the most disinterested of men in all pecuniary matters, and who had glared the meteor in the storm, was not the minister who would be contented to wade through the slow operations of a peace establishment. His favourite object, that of retaining Canada, had made such a change in the state

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sons so respectable as to make him conclude that it was meant to be a free meeting—Conscious of the sincerity and disinterestedness of the sentiments he had endeavoured to communicate (*which, as well as those which follow, were known to many persons present to have been his real sentiments* before he had the least prospect of being called to the situation he afterwards filled*) And expecting the same candour from his hearers with which he had heard others speak: all he could do was to recover himself so far as to bring his discourse to a sort of conclusion, much more sudden than he had intended; meaning to avail himself if necessary of this method of communicating the substance of what he really did say in the order in which he had first conceived it, and of adding his remarks upon the subsequent resolutions of the meeting in the following manner.

* Of this the freeholder has incontestable proof in his hands.

of our American Colonies, as obviously to throw the temptation of Independency before them. With them the idea of security had the same effects as in Britain. They grew selfish as a nation; and after being freed from the dangers of a near and formidable enemy, thought of all the advantages which their situation now gave them: and to those individuals to whom independency occurred, gratitude to the mother Country lost all influence. Had the minister immediately upon the peace adverted to the change it made in the state of America, he perhaps might have guarded against the attempt to independency in those with whom it first originated, by measures equally advantageous to every part of the Empire. But the progress of selfish principles was too rapid to allow of much time for remedy—no adequate steps having been taken in the moment of their emerging from their difficulties, perhaps the misfortunes which have since followed could alone prepare the real ground for a perfect and permanent consolidation of Interest.

It seems therefore evident that no minister, (even Lord Chatham, during whose return to power as Privy Seal, the land tax was reduced to three shillings in the pound) ever attempted to pursue such a system of enlarged policy and
 taxation

taxation during a peace, as might prepare for, or prevent a future war; or so effectually reduce the national debt, as to admit of expences equal to the necessities of such a war, without increasing that debt beyond its former amount.

When we add to the above consideration, the circumstances and efforts of the present war; such as are scarce to be paralleled in the history of any other. An Empire under all the disadvantages of violent internal contests, endeavouring to reduce to their former dependence, one fourth of its whole inhabitants, seperated from the rest by an interval of ocean 3500 miles in breadth, with scarce a possibility of forming magazines of any sort in their country—obliged to collect troops from every part of Germany, and of course subject to a double transport—Every species of ammunition and military store to attend upon the several operations; and to add to these accumulated difficulties, even the very food of every man and animal to be transported that immense distance for their daily subsistence—The great number of transports to answer all these purposes, as well as of convoys for the several different embarkations.—Precautions at the same time to be taken against any surprize at home—and when all these difficulties

ficulties were so far overcome as to render us so superior in every point of view in America, that they themselves saw the contest must be at an end without further assistance.—Then to have that ancient enemy called in, against whom we had defended them with our best blood ; —to free them from whom we had added fifty millions to our national debt—to have them called in against us, when they had acquired a navy almost equal to our own ; when their numerous army had no enemy but England to attend to ; and that only at a distance of twenty miles from our coast. —And when under even these circumstances, Britain still held up her head, and by her infinite exertions became so manifestly superior to both these enemies, as to oblige them to call in a third ; the next great naval power in Europe, Spain, not satisfied till the whole house of Bourbon were called in to annihilate the Mother Country. —Even still, that mother country held up its awful head, still bore its place in Europe, and now rises to offensive war against all these combined powers ; not only without an ally, but almost without a well wisher, from the extraordinary jealousy her greatness had inspired ; and not only begins her offensive war, but in all human probability will succeed
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in it, *if her own sons will yet let her be a nation.* What must be the difficulties, what the expences, of such complicated efforts? efforts which must have early succeeded, had it not been for our fatal divisions.

Surely from all these considerations, there appear obvious reasons for very great and extraordinary expences; and if even upon enquiry there should be found abuses, they are probably such as no acuteness and sagacity could totally have prevented in such complicated demands. The first charge, therefore, in this petition, seems injudicious, uncandid, and most probably unjust. Injudicious, at least in point of time, from its tending to withdraw confidence, when most essential; uncandid, from there being obvious reasons of justification; and unjust, from there having been no prior evidence of a fact, which every accompanying circumstance of the case renders improbable.

The next charge, contained in the petition, relative to exorbitant efficient places, may be worthy of attention, when a *real great plan* of national economy comes forward, which undoubtedly will happen, the moment there is leisure and temper for it; but in this moment the utmost advantage which could arise from such a saving, is not of that consequence

sequence as to require an immediate disquisition; nor should it be applied to the lessening of the taxes, as all these kind of savings must go to the sinking fund for the reduction of the national debt; which fund will become the saving of this kingdom, when empowered to become a purchaser of stock, by which means it will not only pay off ten millions with eight, but assist the stock-holders in keeping up the price of stock by its constant demand.

As to that part of the petition which relates to what comes within the Civil List, the indelicacy and injudiciousness of it has been already made appear; and a consideration which will make that the more evident is, that what ever saving can possibly be made in that department, must go towards a proper maintenance of the most numerous and most promising royal family, that perhaps has ever been seen in any country. A country the most distinguished for their private generosity and benevolence, will not be the first to move, that the royal family of Britain should not have a dignified provision.

The next object of the petition, is the inference drawn from the preceding premises, *the unconstitutional influence of the crown* which may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

country. This inference calls for a particular consideration. It has been already observed, that a regular plan of violent opposition to the public measures, has been added to all the other difficulties this country has laboured under; if it may not be given as the original cause of them. It is evident, that the rebellion in America has been fostered by it in every point of view. Lord Chatham was said to have conquered America in Germany, and the internal enemies of this country, by a most perverted imitation, endeavoured to conquer the constitution of Britain in America. But when even that country did not promise the harvest they wished for, it is well known that the brave, the loyal, but the distressed Irish were exposed to their solicitations to violence. But however great their difficulties, they neither could be brought to deny the immediate means of support against the common enemy, nor to resist the proofs of an affectionate good will towards them; those proofs, which nothing but that general source of all our real grievances already mentioned, could have withheld from them so long. But the active dispositions of our internal enemies did not rest here; despairing of success in Ireland, now convinced that a generous and loyal people could never

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be made a party in annihilating the constitution and dismembering the Empire; the dernier resort was to be tried; the Sovereign himself was to be attacked. That fine veil which this constitution had so wisely thrown round the person of the King was to be torn away, and every insult offered which could annihilate the respect for an office, so essential to the constitution, in the misrepresentations of the man who held it; and the sense of treason being in a manner extinguished by gradual and daily usage, the grossest indecences were made use of with that security and impunity which cowardice required, and which it found in attacking the only being in Britain who could not personally resent, and in whose favour the laws, by those perverted sentiments of the people had lost their force. But the time will come when those infatuated men will see the injustice as well as the absurdity of such a conduct, and when that sovereign, who neither could be brought to consent to the diminution of that Empire which he was called to preserve entire, nor to despair of his means of defence, although the whole house of Bourbon thundered upon his coast, will have ample justice done him in the hearts of every real friend of liberty, and of the glorious constitution of this country; and

and when both from the example of his private virtues and his publick firmness, real patriotism will receive its best encouragement.

Happy as we may be in such an example in so arduous a moment, this constitution would ill deserve the praises bestowed upon it by the wisest men of this and of every other country in Europe, if it depended rather upon the uncommon virtues of the prince, which an hereditary monarchy must render precarious, than upon the attributes of the sovereign. It is in that political perfection which this constitution has attributed to the sacred office of a British sovereign, that consists the shining part of the most admirable form of government that was ever conceived by the mind of any legislator. It is a false opinion, that the King is the servant of the publick. He is the soul of the constitution, that which frees it from the tyranny of an Aristocracy and the anarchy of a Democracy. The servants of the publick are those ministers who surround him, through whom every act that is done must pass, who are alone responsible, amenable and punishable. Nothing, therefore, can pass from the sovereign to the subject, but through the agency of accountable servants, and thus the essence of the constitution is never in danger, unless the mad-

ness, or the wickedness of the people render it so, as the sacrifice of the minister does not affect it. Contempt, or aversion, may be nationally felt towards one minister, and his successor may fully restore the dignity of the office, because it is dependent upon the individual who fills it : But if the crown becomes contemptible in the eyes of the people, all its attributes sink for ever. That the king can do no wrong, that the king never dies, that the throne is never vacant, are ideas of the highest import to the preservation of this constitution, and that liberty it was wonderfully framed to preserve ; and the difficulty felt at the Revolution, by the greatest men of that age, in making the word *abdication* consistent with the sense of the constitution, plainly shewed their knowledge of the importance of the royal office, for the preservation of that liberty they were then met to establish.

How different are the ideas which prevail in the present age. Every man is now a legislator, and so far from being satisfied with that time-tried form of government, under which he finds himself ; by which he had been protected from infancy to manhood ; and by which his property has been secured to him ; he disdains its orders, arraigns its composition, and would totally change its form as not coinciding with

with his own crude ideas of the State he would chuse to live under; and to effect his purposes, avails himself of the moment in which the empire is struggling against the most powerful, and most despotick of foreign enemies. The strange situation, to which this poor country is now reduced, confirms too justly that which has been already observed, that Britannia, which formerly moved in a line, so dignified as to draw the attention and respect of all Europe, now sinks down in a state of corruption and gives birth to millions of reptiles, each creeping their own seperate way.

When those who possess, from an hereditary claim only, all the distinctions of society, and such an excessive disproportion of its benefits, as to have a thousand of their fellows creatures employed in the hardest work and with the poorest subsistence to contribute to their ease and luxury.—When such talk of the natural equality of men and their right to change the government they live under, who can withhold their astonishment? And yet this has been so long the fashionable language of this country, that all subordination, and order, all decency is at an end, and has carried its effects up to the crown, which so far from having too great an influence, has been deprived of that most essential

essential part of it which a proper education and early habits formerly implanted in the hearts of men ; a general disposition to respect it even in the warmest political contests.

Is the zeal of the present majority in parliament for carrying on the war with vigour, against the most perfidious of enemies, meant to be produced as the proof of the undue influence of the crown ? Is that majority who would not yield, to the Independency of America ; To the ruinous and disgraceful terms prescribed by the most ancient and most inveterate enemy of this country, France ; To that *uti possidetis* of Spain, which was to annihilate this country by checking it in the only moment of effectual resistance, and by raising up a superiority of power against it during the cessation of arms ; Is a majority, I say, against such degrading propositions, the proof of the undue influence complained of ? If so, Heaven grant that we may never want such influence ; and depend upon it, that this will be the universal prayer of Britain. The tide of popularity will flow towards those men who have supported the empire under the greatest difficulties, and those who have preached up doctrines which must tend to disgrace us as a nation, will sink to their proper level.

Recover-

Recover yourselves citizens of Britain, if possible, from these delusions. Examine well those who are loudest among you; and see whether there are no professed republicans, no supporters of Aristocracy amongst them. If they have a right to change the constitution, what becomes of your property, what of your tenures? the leaseholder, the copyholder, nay the no holder of any thing, may claim your freeholds: All right is annihilated, or endanger'd when the government from which it is derived is annihilated, or essentially changed. Unequal property can never be derived from the boasted natural rights or equality of men. Anarchy, and its certain follower, Despotism, can only arise out of such doctrines. Be assured that in this constitution as it now stands, true Liberty, protection and security, to persons and property, find their surest basis. That small proportion of virtue which is necessary for an elector to do justice to himself in his choice of a discrete, sensible, dispassionate man for his representative, and one whose fortune is sufficient to set him above the necessity of corruption, will ever preserve this constitution. No changes in modes of election, no further exclusions from offices are necessary; as such exclusions could only operate in preventing the men, who are the ablest and the fittest both for the senate
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and the state, to become more useful to their country, by their double capacity, which can never be imposed upon the electors, as a re-election must follow the appointment.

The last object of this petition is, “ that
 “ no new taxes may be granted till *effectual*
 “ *measures* are taken for this general reform,
 “ the produce of which, is to be applied
 “ to the necessities of the state.” And as the
 two subsequent resolutions of the meeting, in
 favour of the petition, relate expressly to this
 part of it, viz. “ That a committee be ap-
 “ pointed to carry on the necessary correspon-
 “ dence for *effectually* promoting the object of
 “ the petition; and to prepare a plan of an
 “ *association*, on legal and constitutional grounds
 “ to support that laudable reform, and *such*
 “ *other measures*, as may conduce to restore the
 “ freedom of Parliament;” it may be pro-
 per to consider the whole under one view.

The money which is to be raised for the
 increasing efforts of *the* war, and for the immedi-
 ate subsistence of the present means of defence,
 constitutes that loan, for the payment of the
 interest of which, new taxes must be granted:
 The loan, therefore, although instantly wanted
 for defensive, as well as offensive war, must be
 delayed, till the object of the petition is *effec-*
tually

tually carried into execution; and as the measure petitioned for, is a measure of latitude; the epithet, *effectual*, must likewise be deemed so. Who then can be the judges of its latitude, but those who first made use of it? and, that they indeed constitute themselves so, is evident from the subsequent resolutions. The House of Commons must therefore correspond with the committees of Reform; the Committees of Reform with each other, as well as with their full meetings; and of course draw on a long discussion, before they can deem the term *effectual*, complied with, so as to proceed to the taxes, and of course to the existence of the loan. And, should not the House of Commons think themselves obliged to pay this attention to this awful committee, but proceed as their conscience and wisdom may direct; the association comes in aid of this committee. Is this aid to be understood, as was dropped at the meeting, *uncensured*? are they to be told, that *Ireland gained its object by 60,000 men in arms*? is *this* the mode the association is to adopt, for *effectually* carrying on this laudable reform? Ireland in her most biting necessities granted the taxes for six months, a time sufficient for the British Parliament to judge of and resolve upon her

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petition;

petition; and she has generosity to be convinced that she had been hasty in the hostile appearance she made, since justice alone would have effected her purposes. But British petitioners do not only threaten, but they withhold the instant means of defence against a most powerful and most insidious enemy at our door. Surely those respectable names which accompanied the first request for this meeting, could not have intended measures which carry such extraordinary appearances. Appearances which must have greatly alarmed; had there been the least time given to consider them. But it is well known, that these subsequent resolutions were read in great haste at the conclusion of the meeting, after the passing of the petition, and in a manner that did not seem as if they were meant to be deliberately considered. But it is unnecessary to say more, to call the attention of the public to these subsequent resolutions, since they speak, as they were meant to do, in thunder.

When the state of this empire is considered, in the moment in which this petition is brought forth—a moment in which the astonishing efforts of this country were raising it to a superiority over the forces of the whole House of Bourbon

Bourbon, and its own revolted colonies—a moment, in which the common danger was awakening again the *amor patriæ*, and annihilating, that narrow selfishness which counteracted the consolidation of the whole empire—When the true principles of trade were beginning to be understood; which prove, that it should take its seat with equal freedom in every part of the empire, availing itself of every local advantage and produce—When the navigation act, in America, and the restraints in Ireland would be judged as prejudicial to the whole empire, as if they existed in London—And when out of our evils, had arisen that liberality of mutual advantage, which must consolidate the empire, more than it could have been under that selfish character which pervaded every part before the contest—When there wanted nothing but temper and unanimity in the mother country, to open the eyes of America to her true interest, and to effect a complete union of the whole empire under common advantage, common liberty, and common support; the means for which, might be settled without admitting the least possible injustice to the parts—At such a moment to give sanction to division, and to tell all our enemies that they might expect, from our
internal

internal convulsions, what their united arms could not effect, is indeed a melancholy, and most unexpected event.

F I N I S.

